

## A STUDY OF AN ENAMEL FRAGMENT IN THE DUMBARTON OAKS COLLECTION\*

ANNA GONOSOVÁ

IN 1963 the Samuel H. Kress Foundation enriched the Dumbarton Oaks Collection with a fragmentary plaque executed in cloisonné enamel (fig. 1). The fragment (12.1 × 11.2 cm.) preserves the face with halo and the shoulders of a Church Father clad in patriarchal vestment. The image has traditionally been identified as St. John Chrysostom.

The present condition of the enamel is very poor, yet even in this state its beauty and technical quality are inescapable. The gold of the background and cloisons is very thin, and the layer of enamel does not exceed one millimeter. The colors are rich and homogeneous: the complexion of the Saint, animated by its translucency, is rose; his hair, beard, and eyebrows are black; his eyes are white with black pupils; and his mouth is red. The emerald green halo is outlined in red. He wears a blue *phelonion*, a white *omophorion* with edges and crosses in red, and the characteristic "collar" in yellow.<sup>1</sup>

\* I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Ernst Kitzinger, who brought this enamel to my attention, for his helpful criticism; and to Professor Henry Maguire, for whom this paper was originally written, and whose guidance helped me to crystallize my ideas. Also my sincere thanks to my colleagues and friends, M. Shreve Simpson, K. Patricia Erhart, William Tronzo, and Dr. Bertha Hertz, for their help in editing and proofreading this paper.

<sup>1</sup> C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins refer to a similar article of clothing as a "collar": "The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul. The Church Fathers in the North Tympanum," *DOP*, 26 (1972), 11, fig. 17. A more stylized rendering (and thus more comparable to the one on this enamel) is shown in the portraits of the Church Fathers in Hosios Lukas in Phocis; cf. A. Grabar, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire* (New York, 1966), 40, pl. 13; P. Lazarides, *Touring Byzantine Greece: Boeotia* (Athens [n.d.]), fig. 23. An almost identical type of "collar" is found on the enamel plaques of the Church Fathers on the frame of the icon of the Virgin Nicopoeia in San Marco in Venice; cf. W. F. Volbach, H. R. Hahnloser, et al., *Il Tesoro di San Marco*, II.

The image was set against a white background of diaper pattern with a yellow heart in the center of each lozenge, of which, unfortunately, only traces remain.

The early history of the enamel is lost in obscurity. Before it reached the Dumbarton Oaks Collection it was owned by M. P. Botkin and later by Paul C. Drey. It was exhibited twice: in Chicago in 1931 and in Baltimore in 1947,<sup>2</sup> where it was informally dated to the eleventh or twelfth century.

The aim of the present study is to hypothesize, on the basis of stylistic analysis, a more specific date, the place of origin, and the purpose of this enamel.<sup>2a</sup>

All the features of the Church Father on the Dumbarton Oaks enamel—his prominent forehead, emphatic cheekbones, receding hairline, short beard, and patriarchal vestment—are rendered in a manner so characteristic of St. John Chrysostom that there can be no doubt as to the identification. As Otto Demus clearly demonstrated in his analysis of a Palaeologan miniature mosaic icon of St. John Chrysostom in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection,<sup>3</sup> different portrait types

*Il Tesoro e il Museo* (Florence, 1971) (hereafter *Il Tesoro*, II), no. 15, p. 22f., pl. xv, 6, 9, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Previous bibliography: *Collection M. P. Botkine* (St. Petersburg, 1911), pl. 85; *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Exhibition Catalogue, The Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, 1947), no. 527.

<sup>2a</sup> Dr. William J. Young of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts has performed a nondispersive X-ray analysis on the gold and enamel of the Dumbarton Oaks plaque. This analysis yielded basic data as to the composition of the gold (Au 95%, Ag 4.2%, Cu 0.4%) and the elements present in the white, blue, green, and flesh-tone enamel. Due to the lack of comparative technical data from other Byzantine enamels, it is not yet possible profitably to use the results of this analysis in determining the date of this piece.

<sup>3</sup> O. Demus, "Two Palaeologan Mosaic Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP*, 14 (1960), 110–19.

were developed for this saint. Demus distinguishes three portrait types: the iconic, the ascetic, and the humanistic. The Dumbarton Oaks enamel does not correspond to the iconic type, which represents St. John Chrysostom in youthful guise;<sup>4</sup> instead it approaches the ascetic type, which emphasizes the saint's proverbial austerity through the use of emaciated facial features, a bald head, and a sparse beard. Two mid-eleventh-century representations of St. John Chrysostom in Kiev and Ochrid,<sup>5</sup> as well as the Dumbarton Oaks mosaic icon mentioned earlier, are characteristic of this type.<sup>6</sup> The moderate rendering of the "ascetic" features in the Dumbarton Oaks image relates this enamel also to the humanistic type, in which St. John Chrysostom appears as a scholar and a theologian—a man of mature age, but not bald, with an elongated oval face and a short, full beard. This type is best illustrated by a late ninth-century mosaic of the saint in the north lunette of the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul,<sup>7</sup> and by a painted icon on the lid of a reliquary of the True Cross in Rome, a tenth- or eleventh-century metropolitan work.<sup>8</sup>

The Dumbarton Oaks enamel does not easily lend itself to stylistic inquiry. Drapery, which normally reflects changes of style with greatest accuracy, cannot be considered here, since too little has been preserved from the garment on this plaque. In the end, it is only what is left—the face and the background—which can be used in an investigation concerning the date of the enamel. Even so, by

<sup>4</sup> Examples of this type are two representations in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome, dated to around 649 and to the papacy of Hadrian I (772–95), respectively (*ibid.*, 112, fig. 24), and a third representation on a wooden diptych in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai (cf. K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons*, I [Princeton, 1976], 58f., pls. xxiv and LXXXVII).

<sup>5</sup> V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), figs. 176 and 177; *idem*, "Živopis' XI–XII vekov v Makedonii," *XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des études byzantines*, Rapports, V (Ochrid, 1961), 115, fig. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Demus, *op. cit.*, figs. 22 and 23.

<sup>7</sup> For the most recent study and bibliography, cf. Mango and Hawkins, *op. cit.*, 1–41, esp. figs. 17–19.

<sup>8</sup> Demus, *op. cit.*, fig. 31; L. von Matt, *Die Kunstsammlungen der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Cologne, 1969), 173f., fig. 89.

determining the place of the enamel within the stylistic progression of Byzantine enamels, it is possible to establish a more specific date than the eleventh- or twelfth-century date previously proposed.

The development of the tenth-century style is well demonstrated by several securely dated enamels: the votive crown of Leo VI (886–912)<sup>9</sup> and the so-called "Romanus chalice,"<sup>10</sup> both in the Treasury of San Marco in Venice, and the Limburg reliquary of 964–65.<sup>11</sup> These monuments enable us to follow the stylistic trends of the tenth-century enamels—simple but assertive drawing of human figures, structural clarity in the design, and technical excellence—from its initial phase in the votive crown up to its culmination in the enamels of the Limburg reliquary. To be more specific, the faces, oblong in most instances, are delineated by flowing curves of cloisons full of inner vibration (figs. 2 and 4). They do not yet often employ the rippling outlines seen in the hairline of St. Peter (fig. 3) or the more dynamic forms of the beard of St. John the Baptist (fig. 5), both from the "Romanus chalice," to mention only a few examples. The clarity and simplicity of the inner structure of the design is even more obvious

<sup>9</sup> *Il Tesoro*, II, no. 92, p. 81f., pls. LXXII–LXXV, CXLVIII; *Venezia e Bisanzio*, Exhibition Catalogue (Venice, 1974), no. 25; K. Wessel, *Byzantine Enamels From the 5th to the 13th Century* (Greenwich, Conn., 1967), no. 12, pp. 20f., 57f.

<sup>10</sup> The attribution to a Byzantine emperor Romanus is given in the inscription on the chalice. Of the four emperors with this name, the style of the enamels permits only the attribution to Romanus I Lecapenus (920–44) or Romanus II (959–63). Romanus I is favored by the majority of scholars: A. Grabar, in *Il Tesoro*, II, no. 41, p. 59f., pl. XLIII; M. C. Ross, "Enamels," in *Byzantine Art: An European Art*, Exhibition Catalogue (Athens, 1964), 395; Wessel, *op. cit.*, no. 19, p. 71f.

<sup>11</sup> The inscription of the reliquary mentions the Proedros Basil, who was the illegitimate son of Romanus I and who received his title in 963. Another inscription, on the setting of the cross, mentions the Emperors Constantine and Romanus. This definitely refers to Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and his son Romanus. Ross dates the reliquary to 964–65: *op. cit.*, 395f.; cf. Wessel, *op. cit.*, no. 22, p. 75f.; J. Rauch and J. Wilm, "Die Staurothek von Limburg," *Das Münster*, 8 (1955), 201–40.

in the drapery folds. Although the number of cloisons applied increased throughout the Middle Byzantine period, the balance between the design as a whole and its parts was maintained in the tenth century.

The setting of the cloisons of the Dumbarton Oaks plaque produces a completely different effect. The lines are drawn with greater confidence, and the inner vibration in the tenth-century enamels has been replaced by a much more decorative rhythm of undulating curves which delineate the hair and beard of the saint. In contrast to this almost playful treatment the artist has employed powerful arches for the eyebrows and mustache.

This tendency toward a more virtuoso use of cloisons is characteristic of eleventh-century enamels. In this century, the portrayal of historical personages enables us to establish a sound chronology. Key monuments are the crown of Constantine IX Monomachus, the Holy Crown of Hungary, the small enamel plaque with Michael VII Ducas (1071–78) and the Empress Maria on the Khakhuli icon,<sup>12</sup> and the portrait of the Empress Irene (1081–1118), wife of Alexius Comnenus, on the Pala d'oro in Venice.

The crown of Constantine IX Monomachus in the National Museum in Budapest is securely dated to the period between 1042 and 1050 because it depicts the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–55), his wife, Empress Zoe (d. 1050), and her sister, Empress Theodora (d. 1056).<sup>13</sup> These three imperial portraits are represented in a schematized manner without any distinctive features. The saint at Dumbarton Oaks can be compared to the plaque of the emperor (fig. 6), for both enamels share similarly shaped beards, sunken cheeks, and mouths,

<sup>12</sup> S. Amiranashvili, *Medieval Georgian Enamels of Russia* (New York [n.d.]), 101; Wessel, *op. cit.*, no. 38, p. 115f.

<sup>13</sup> The fragment of the crown consists of seven plaques, representing the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus, the sister Empresses Zoe and Theodora, two dancing girls, and two personifications of virtues. The enamels were found in 1860. For the history, style, and reconstruction, cf. M. Bárány-Oberschall, *The Crown of the Emperor Constantine Monomachos*, ArchHung, 22 (Budapest, 1937), 49–96. For a brief summary, cf. Wessel, *op. cit.*, no. 32, pp. 96–104.

although the technical rendering of their images is quite different.

The style of the enamels on the *corona graeca* of the Holy Crown of Hungary is particularly close to that of the Dumbarton Oaks enamel.<sup>14</sup> Of the ten plaques, the three forming the posterior group provide a definite date for this part of the crown. They represent the Byzantine Emperor Michael VII Ducas (1071–78), flanked by his son and coemperor, Constantine, and the king of Hungary, Géza I (1074–77), whose reign sets the time limitations for the origin of these plaques. The group at the front of the crown consists of plaques with the enthroned Christ; the Archangels Michael and Gabriel; two military saints, SS. George and Demetrius; and two holy doctors, SS. Cosmas and Damian. The excellent technical quality of these enamels, their iconographic nature, and historical conditions lead to the conclusion that they were made in Constantinople.<sup>15</sup>

The bearded faces of the emperor (fig. 7), King Géza (fig. 8), and SS. Cosmas (fig. 9) and Damian have in common with the Dumbarton Oaks enamel an elongated nose whose tip breaks the line of the mustache. The mouths, especially that of St. Cosmas, and the eyebrows also have similar forms. But above all, the crown enamels and the plaque with St. John Chrysostom share a closely related conception of form and line. The undulating line which delineates the beards of the two holy doctors finds a close

<sup>14</sup> For the complete and most recent account of the history of the Holy Crown of Hungary, cf. J. Deér, *Die Heilige Krone Ungarns*, DenkWien, Phil.-hist. Kl., 91 (Vienna, 1966); and M. von Bárány-Oberschall, *Die Sankt Stephans-Krone* (Vienna-Munich, 1974). For shorter accounts, cf. Wessel, *op. cit.*, no. 37, pp. 111–15; and P. J. Kelleher, *The Holy Crown of Hungary* (Rome, 1951).

<sup>15</sup> Before his usurpation of the Hungarian throne Géza I acted as an ally of the Byzantine emperor. An imperial gift decorated with enamels was then sent to Hungary in recognition of friendship and, in the eyes of the Byzantine emperor, as a sign of his sovereignty. The exact nature of this gift is the subject of scholarly dispute, which does not, however, affect the generally accepted dating of these enamels to the reign of Géza I. Cf. von Bárány-Oberschall, *Die Sankt Stephans-Krone*, 41–49, 63–76; Kelleher, *op. cit.*, 56–71; Deér, *op. cit.*, 35–88.

parallel in the beard of the saint at Dumbarton Oaks. The faces of the crown enamels are regular, with details suppressed to the minimum, but nonetheless they convey strong individual character. The representation of Géza I, in particular, is so portraitlike that one would not hesitate to see in it a true likeness.

The enamel plaques on the Holy Crown reveal the great technical and artistic accomplishment of their master. Like the Dumbarton Oaks enamel they are characterized by a balance between the whole and its details, which demonstrates that their master was well aware of the optimal artistic possibilities of the enamel technique.

The plaque depicting the Empress Irene, which is generally accepted as a portrait of Irene Ducas, the wife of Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118), provides a terminus ad quem for a group of enamels from the lower part of the Pala d'oro in San Marco in Venice.<sup>16</sup> These plaques form a part of the Pala d'oro which was thought to have been ordered by the Doge Ordelaffo Falier in Constantinople and delivered to Venice in 1105–6.<sup>17</sup> Although

<sup>16</sup> For the complicated history of the Pala d'oro and the controversy concerning its different phases, cf. H. R. Hahnloser, "Le orficerie della Pala d'Oro" in Volbach, et al., *Il Tesoro di San Marco*, I. *La Pala d'Oro* (1965) (hereafter *Il Tesoro*, I), 89–101; G. Lorenzoni, *La Pala d'oro di San Marco* (Florence, 1965); J. de Luigi-Pomorišac, *Les Emaux byzantins de la Pala d'Oro de l'église de Saint-Marc à Venise* (Zurich, 1966); O. Demus, "Zur Pala d'oro," *JÖBG*, 16 (1967), 263–79; J. Deér, "Die Pala d'Oro in neuer Sicht," *BZ*, 62 (1969), 308–44; Wessel, *op. cit.*, no. 46, pp. 131–53.

<sup>17</sup> This information stems from the fourteenth-century Chronicle of the Doge Andrea Dandalo, under whose order the present Pala was composed in 1342–45, and it is fully accepted by Volbach; cf. *Il Tesoro*, I, 3–4; cf. also Lorenzoni, *op. cit.*, 2; de Luigi-Pomorišac, *op. cit.*, I, 14; and O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice* (Washington, D.C., 1960), 23. Hahnloser, on the other hand, considers this part of the Pala d'oro the one which, along with important trade privileges, would have been given to the Venetians after 1082 by Alexius I to thank them for their military assistance against the Normans. Hahnloser's dating is accepted by Deér; cf. H. R. Hahnloser, "Magistra Latinitas und Peritia Greca," *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem zum 16. Februar 1965* (Berlin, 1965), 80f.; and Deér, "Die Pala d'Oro," 315–20.

this group does not seem entirely homogeneous stylistically, and is, along with the rest of the Pala d'oro, a subject of scholarly disagreement, its dating within the first half of the twelfth century is unquestionable. The difference in style between these enamels and those from the second half of the eleventh century with which I group the Dumbarton Oaks plaque is striking. The sense of proportion and the balance between the whole composition and its parts, which were noted in the enamels from the eleventh century, disappeared by the end of that century. It seems as if the artists responsible for the enamels of the Pala d'oro were carried away in the creation of design for its own sake. The delicate equilibrium between the enamel technique and figural representation was broken, and the enamel acquired an ornamental character. This change in attitude is particularly visible in the rendering of male images. The monumental simplicity of facial forms which persisted in the eleventh-century style was superseded by a decorative interplay of lines and surfaces: the profusion of cloisons and elaborate outlines dominates the portraits of the apostles and prophets of the Pala (figs. 10 and 11).<sup>18</sup>

That this development had taken place still in the late eleventh century is clearly demonstrated by the difference between the plaques with empresses from the Monomachus crown and the Empress Irene from the Pala d'oro (figs. 12 and 13).<sup>19</sup> The former show the figures more animated and expressive, the composition more balanced, and the relationship between the body and the drapery still clearly articulated. The latter, on the other hand, consists of a series of two-dimensional patterned surfaces which represent the empress' garment but which do not have any relationship to the body underneath.

The Dumbarton Oaks enamel does not show any stylistic resemblance to the enamels from the Pala d'oro. Based on similarities with the enamels on the Holy Crown of Hungary and the enamels from the Monomachus crown, the date of this plaque can be safely established in the third quarter of the eleventh century.

<sup>18</sup> *Il Tesoro*, I, nos. 28–39, p. 18f.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. II; Wessel, *op. cit.*, nos. 32a, c, p. 99.

On the plaque of St. John Chrysostom the use of the patterned enamel for the background, instead of a plain gold surface, at first appears unusual, for the majority of preserved Byzantine enamels from the period under discussion are executed in sunken enamel technique. There are, however, several enamels, all quite large in size, that have patterned backgrounds, namely, an eleventh-century relief icon of St. Michael in the Treasury of San Marco in Venice (fig. 14),<sup>20</sup> an icon with St. Theodore in the Hermitage,<sup>21</sup> and a number of ornamental fragments from icon backgrounds now in various museums.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the extant material seems to indicate that the techniques of full and sunken enamel were used side by side during the same period.

Large-scale Byzantine enamels are rare. Among the most notable are the icon of St. Michael mentioned above, a number of enamels from the Pala d'oro (the Apostles, the Feast cycle, the Archangel Michael, and the Pantocrator),<sup>23</sup> and an icon of the Virgin from the monastery of Khakhuli in Georgia.<sup>24</sup> Only the latter exceeds the Dumbarton Oaks fragment in size: the face of the Virgin is 12 cm. long and 7 cm. wide,<sup>25</sup> while that of St. John Chrysostom is 9.5 cm. long and

4.5 cm. wide. Although the dimensions of these two enamels may be compared, their execution and styles are completely different. The Dumbarton Oaks enamel is technically superior to the Khakhuli Virgin, whose cloisons and enamel layers are quite heavy. Stylistically the Virgin is clearly a product of a different milieu.

The Dumbarton Oaks enamel, even in its fragmentary state, is too large to be considered a part of any kind of frame or reliquary. Moreover, the visual appeal of the saint, especially his frontal attitude with side glance, suggests that the enamel was part of a larger decorative program rather than an independent icon. The most common way to represent St. John Chrysostom in such a scheme would be in a group of the Church Fathers and other saints. Many examples of this composition are offered in every medium of Byzantine art. Assuming that the Dumbarton Oaks plaque was originally part of such a multifigural, presumably horizontal, composition, we must consider the type of object most suitable to this kind of decoration in enamel. The beam of a templon provides an ideal base for the extended horizontal decorative arrangement.

The written Byzantine sources are very explicit concerning the use of precious metals, enamels, and other costly materials for the decoration of church and palace furnishings. Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus' *Vita Basili* provides, among other information concerning the building and decoration of churches by Basil I (867–86), a specific reference to a templon decorated with enamel in the church of the Savior:

...Indeed, the entire pavement is made of solid beaten silver with niello (*en-kausis*) exhibiting the perfection of the jeweler's art; the walls on right and left are also covered with an abundance of silver, picked out with gold and studded with precious stones and gleaming pearls. As for the closure that separates the choir from the nave, by Hercules, what riches are contained in it! Its columns and lower part are made entirely of silver, while the beam that is laid on top of the capitals is of pure gold, and all the wealth of India has been poured upon it. The image of our Lord, the God-man, is represented several

<sup>20</sup> *Il Tesoro*, II, no. 16, pp. 23–25, pls. XVI–XVIII; A. Grabar, *Les Revêtements en or et en argent des icônes byzantines du Moyen Age* (Venice, 1975), no. 1, p. 21f., pl. A and fig. 1; and Wessel, *op. cit.*, no. 30, pp. 92–95.

<sup>21</sup> The size of the enamel is 24 × 21 cm.; cf. A. V. Bank, *Ishusstvo vizantii v sobranii Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaža* (Leningrad, 1960), no. 84, p. 123.

<sup>22</sup> Some are in Tbilisi and some in the Metropolitan Museum of Art; cf. Amiranashvili, *op. cit.* (note 12 *supra*), 97; O. M. Dalton, "Byzantine Enamels in Mr. Pierpont Morgan's Collection," *The Burlington Magazine*, 21 (1912), 128.

<sup>23</sup> The apostles have an average size of 28 × 11.8–12 cm.; the Archangel Michael is 44 × 39 cm.; the Feasts are 30.7 × 30 and 36.7 × 31.3 cm.; and the Pantocrator has a diameter of 37 cm., although its original size is assumed to be around 44 cm. Cf. *Il Tesoro*, I, no. 6, p. 10, pl. v; nos. 28–39, pp. 18–20, pls. XVII–XXII; no. 79, p. 39, pl. XLII; nos. 80–85, pp. 39–43, pls. XLIII–XLVIII.

<sup>24</sup> Amiranashvili, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

<sup>25</sup> *Idem*, *The Khakhuli Triptych* (Tbilisi, 1972), list of illustrations, no. 5.

times in enamel (*chumeusis*) upon the beam....<sup>26</sup>

The existence of several enamels thought to come from the beam of a templon seems to confirm the documentary evidence. The upper part of the Pala d'oro consists of seven large plaques, of which the five smaller ones with the Feasts form part of one series, while the Archangel Michael in the central quatrefoil and the plaque with the Entry into Jerusalem come from two different ensembles.<sup>27</sup> It is generally accepted that these enamels, which stylistically belong to the twelfth century, are a part of the loot from the Fourth Crusade. Based on the fifteenth-century tradition, these enamels were considered a part of the templon in one of the churches of the Pantocrator monastery in Constantinople, which was in the hands of the Venetians after 1204.<sup>28</sup>

That the effect of templon architraves decorated with precious metals and enamels was very much sought after is convincingly documented by the existence of imitations in less expensive materials and techniques. Almost the entire length of the beam can be reconstructed from the fragments excavated in the Phrygian Sebaste.<sup>29</sup> The marble

<sup>26</sup> C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453. Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 196; cf. also M. Chatzidakis, "Ikonostas," *RBK*, III, col. 331f.

<sup>27</sup> Hahnloser, *Il Tesoro*, I, 94.

<sup>28</sup> The tradition that these enamels are a part of the loot from the Pantocrator monastery after 1204 goes back to 1438, when the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Joseph, while visiting Venice, identified some enamels on the Pala as coming from the monastery. The monastery had three churches and was the burial place of the Comneni. The Venetian Podestà resided there during 1204–61. Demus convincingly pointed out, however, that the patriarch's identification was based on the recognition of the portrait of the Empress Irene, who was mistaken for another Irene, the wife of John II Comnenus (1118–43) and founder of one of the churches of the Pantocrator monastery. Demus also agrees with Hahnloser that the enamels are not necessarily part of the iconostasis from the Pantocrator monastery, but could have been taken from elsewhere in the capital. Demus, "Zur Pala d'Oro" (note 16 *supra*), 273; *idem*, *The Church of San Marco* (note 17 *supra*), 27 note 90, 28; Hahnloser, *Il Tesoro*, I, 91.

<sup>29</sup> N. Firatlı, "Découverte d'une église byzantine à Sébaste de Phrygie: Rapport préliminaire," *CahArch*, 19 (1969), 151–66.

architrave is decorated with interlaced medallions filled with portrait busts representing the Great Deesis; eighteen out of twenty-one medallions have been preserved. The decoration consists of glass paste inlay against a background where traces of ochre and gilding are preserved, giving an overall impression much like that of enamel. This visual effect is further confirmed by the striking similarity with tenth-century enamels, and supports the tenth-century attribution of the templon proposed by the excavators. Another fragment in the same technique, also from Asia Minor, shows the Apostle Philip and SS. Luke, Macarius, and Panteleimon.<sup>30</sup>

Recent scholarship and a sufficient number of preserved templon architraves and architrave icons enable us to reconstruct their form and iconographic program.<sup>31</sup> The examination of the preserved templon fragments reveals that there were several iconographic themes developed for the decoration of the templon architrave, including the Great Deesis.<sup>32</sup> The Dumbarton Oaks enamel would be ideally suited for incorporation in such a scheme. The iconography of the Great Deesis is very flexible; the number and selection of the saints is not based upon any strict rule. The inclusion of St. John Chrysostom, one of the four most venerated Church Fathers, in

<sup>30</sup> V. N. Lazarev, "Tri fragmenta raspisnyh epistiliev i vizantijskij templon," in *Vizantijskaja živopis'* (Moscow, 1971), 118, 133, no. 41.

<sup>31</sup> Major contributions to the study of the development of the iconostasis are: M. Chatzidakis, *Eikóves éπιστυλίου ἀπό τὸ Ἀγιον Ὁπος*, in *Studies in Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (London, 1972), 377–403; *idem*, "Ikonostas," *RBK*, III, cols. 326–53; and *idem*, "L'Evolution de l'icone aux 11e–13e siècles et la transformation du templon," *XVe Congrès international d'études byzantines, Rapports et co-rapports*, III. *Art et archéologie* (Athens, 1976), 157–92; Lazarev, "Tri fragmenta," 110–36; and K. Weitzmann, "Diptih slonovoj kosti iz Ėrmitaža, otnosjaščijsja k krugu imperatora Romana," *VizVrem*, 32 (1971), 142–56.

<sup>32</sup> The major iconographic themes used for the templon beam are the Deesis, the Great Deesis, the Deesis and the Dodekaorton, and the Dodekaortion. On the basis of the preserved material, the preference for certain themes in different periods is noticeable. This has its limitations for the purpose of dating, however; cf. Chatzidakis, "Ikonostas," cols. 336–40; *idem*, "L'Evolution de l'icone," 170f.; Lazarev, "Tri fragmenta," 120f.

such a composition is more than probable. There are several examples of the Great Deesis decorating either the beam proper, as in the case of the Sebaste inlaid architrave,<sup>33</sup> or the beam icons, as shown by two eleventh-century fragments of painted architraves, one in the Hermitage with three-quarter representations of the Apostle Philip and SS. Theodore Stratilates and Demetrius (fig. 15),<sup>34</sup> and another on Mt. Sinai with a portrait bust of the Apostle Thomas,<sup>35</sup> to mention a few early examples.

The Dumbarton Oaks fragment can be reconstructed with the Saint as either a bust, a three-quarter length, or a full-length figure, with the dimensions varying accordingly.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Firath, *op. cit.*, figs. 15–18.

<sup>34</sup> This fragment measures 41 × 50 cm.; cf. Lazarev, "Tri fragmenta," 110f., 131 note 5; A. Banck, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of the USSR* (Leningrad [1966]), no. 227.

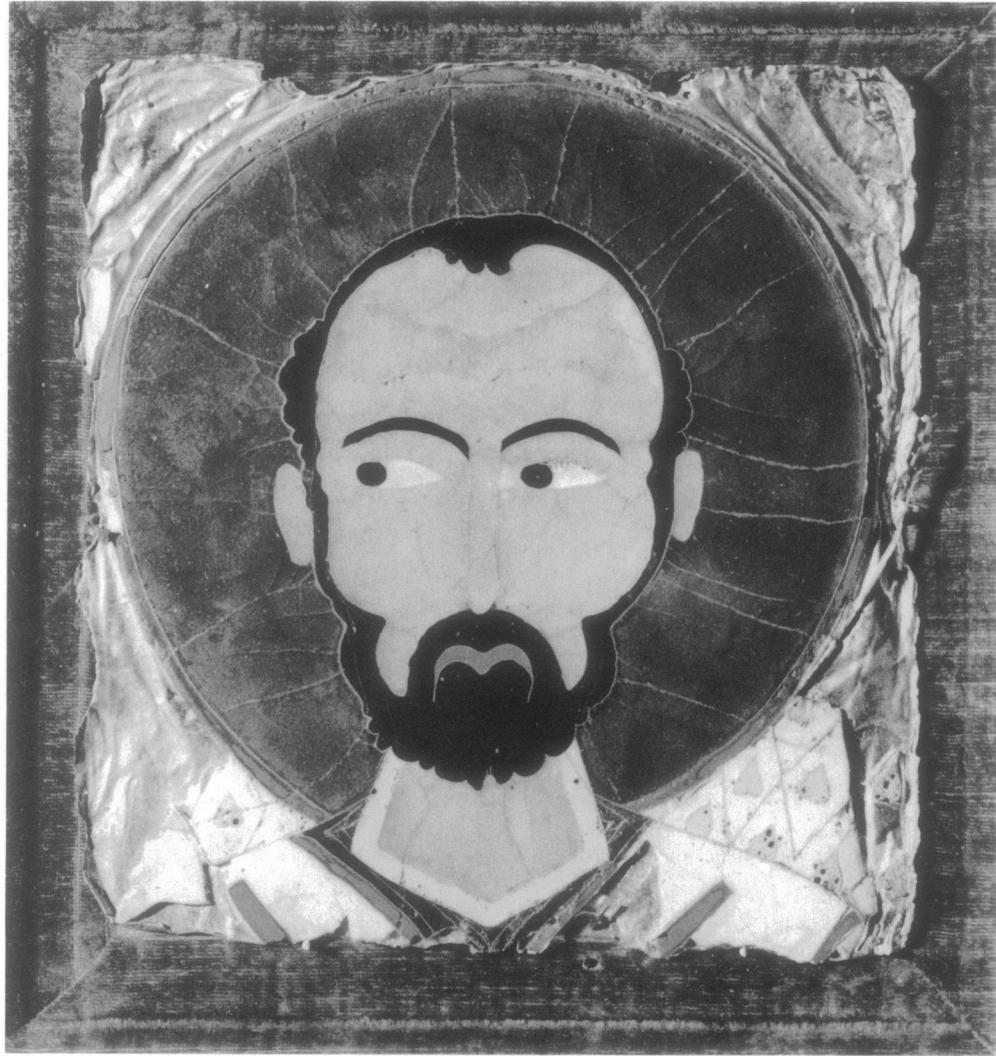
<sup>35</sup> Chatzidakis, "L'Evolution de l'icone," 164, 175, pl. xxvi,2.

<sup>36</sup> A three-quarter length figure would be comparable in size to the saints on the Hermitage fragment; cf. note 34 *supra*.

Iconographically it was most likely a part of the Great Deesis; further details of the program would have been determined by the church for which it was executed. The reconstruction of a templon beam itself on the basis of this fragment alone would be pure hypothesis. It should suffice to note that there are existing parallels for each of the above-mentioned figural types.

The preceding analysis of the style and portrait type of St. John Chrysostom on the plaque from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection has revealed sufficient evidence to identify this fragment as a late eleventh-century enamel made in Constantinople. Due to the costly material, we can assume that an enamel-decorated templon architrave would have been commissioned only for the capital city, known so well for the sumptuous decoration of its churches.

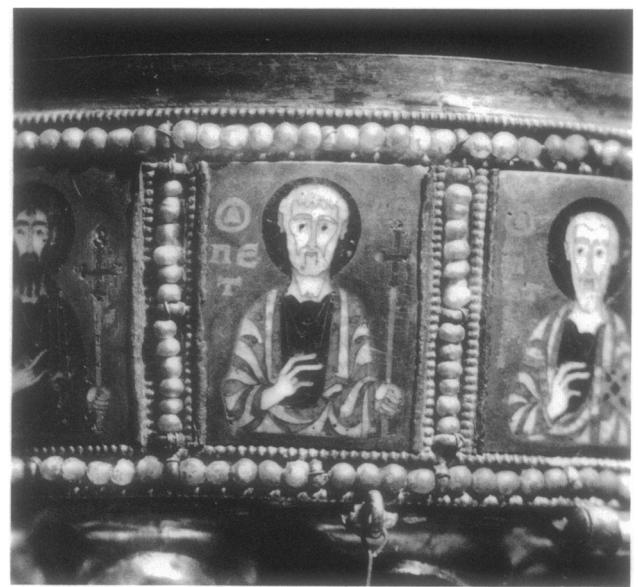
Fogg Art Museum  
Harvard University



1. Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Enamel, St. John Chrysostom



2. The Apostle Luke



3. The Apostle Peter

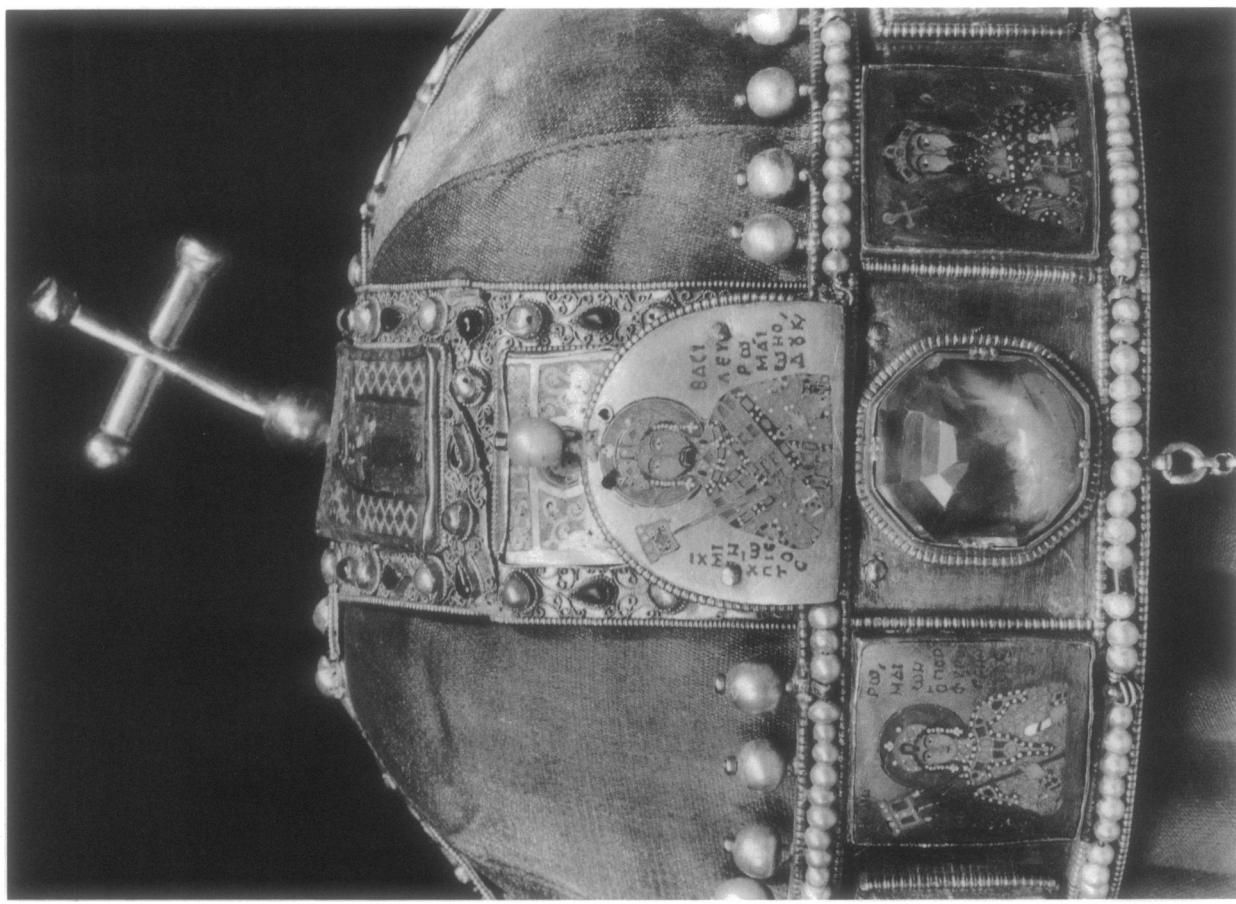
Venice, San Marco. Romanos Chalice, details



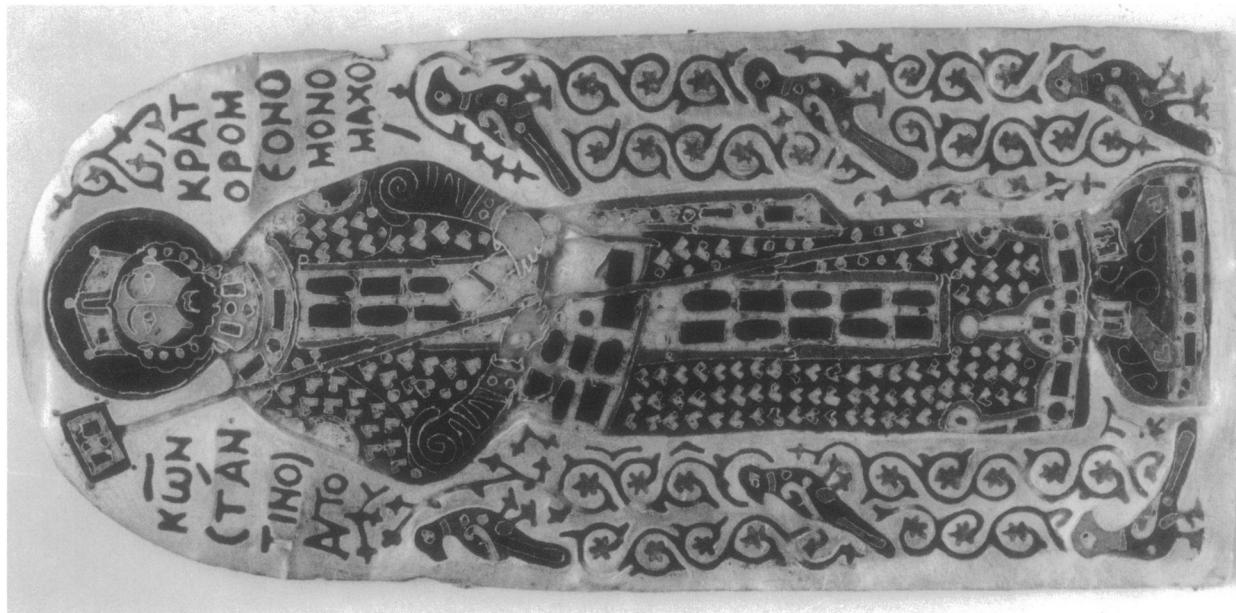
4. Limburg am Lahn, Cathedral Treasury. Limburg Reliquary, detail, The Apostles James and John the Evangelist



5. Venice, San Marco. Romanos Chalice, detail, St. John the Baptist



7. Holy Crown of Hungary, detail, Michael VII Ducas



6. Budapest, Hungarian National Museum. Crown, detail, Constantine IX Monomachus

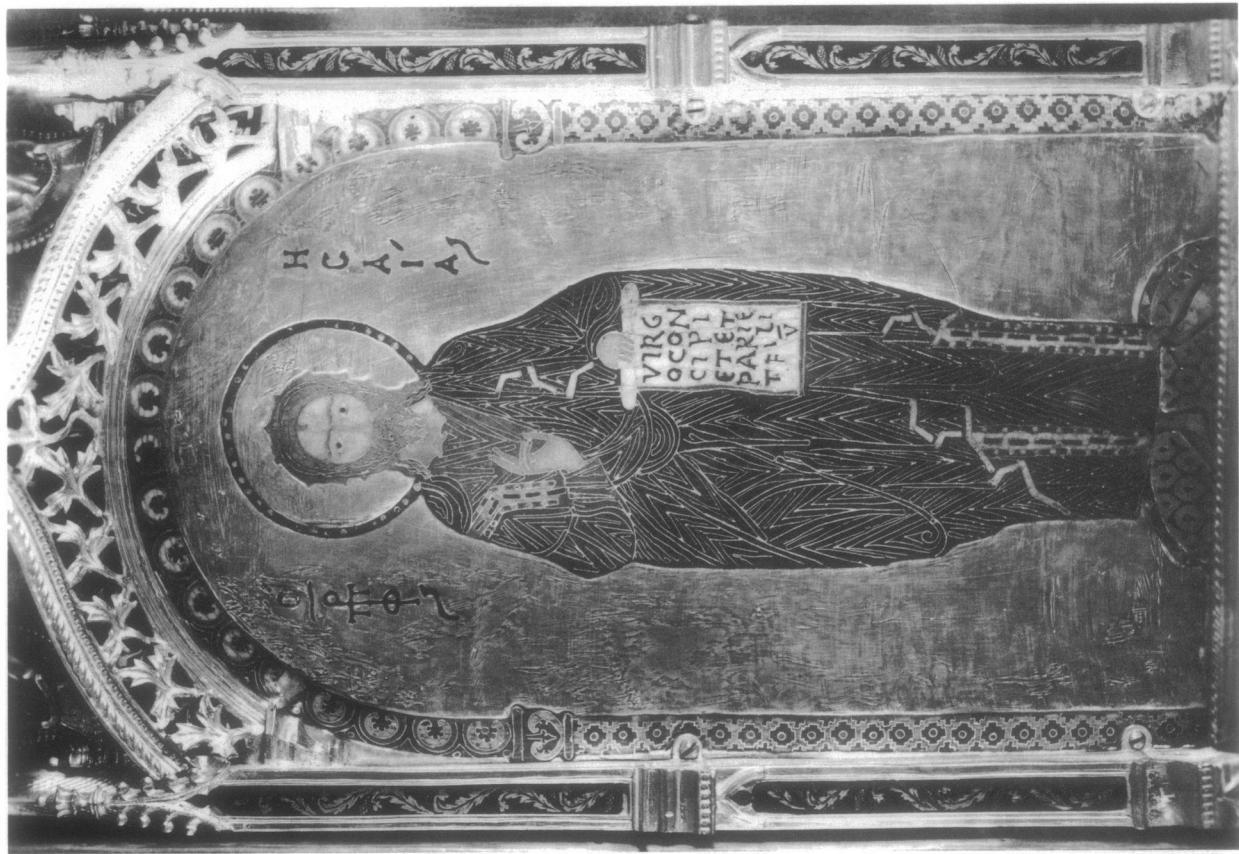


9. St. Cosmas



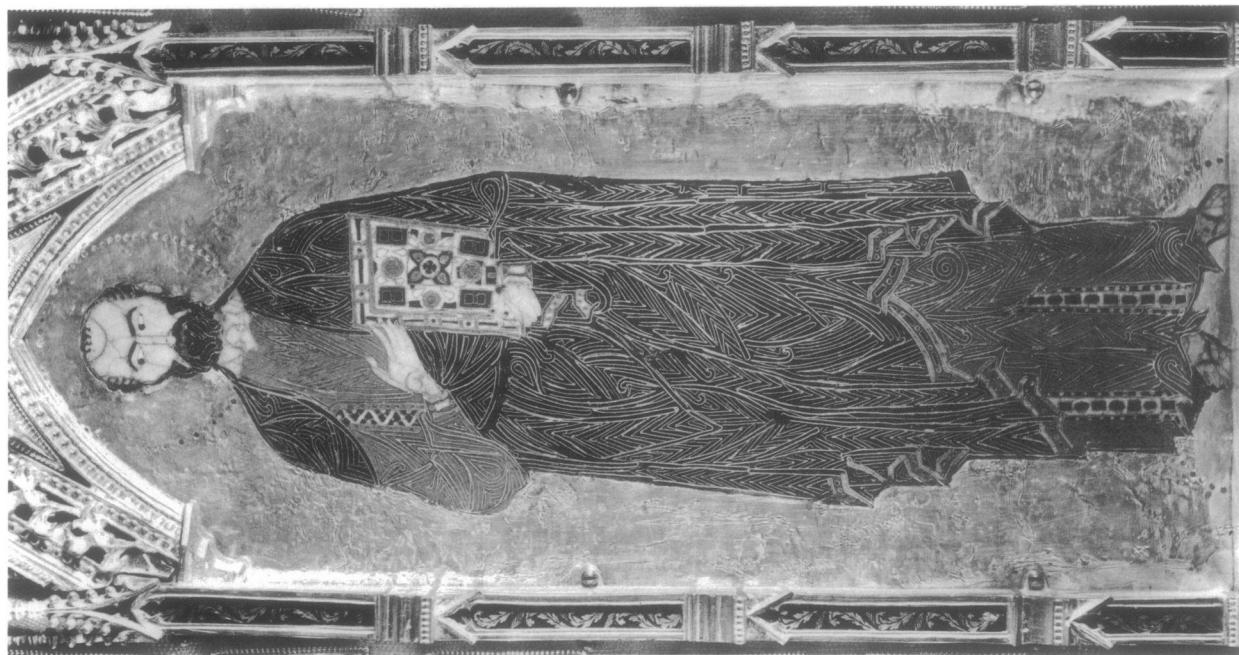
8. King Geza I

Holy Crown of Hungary, details

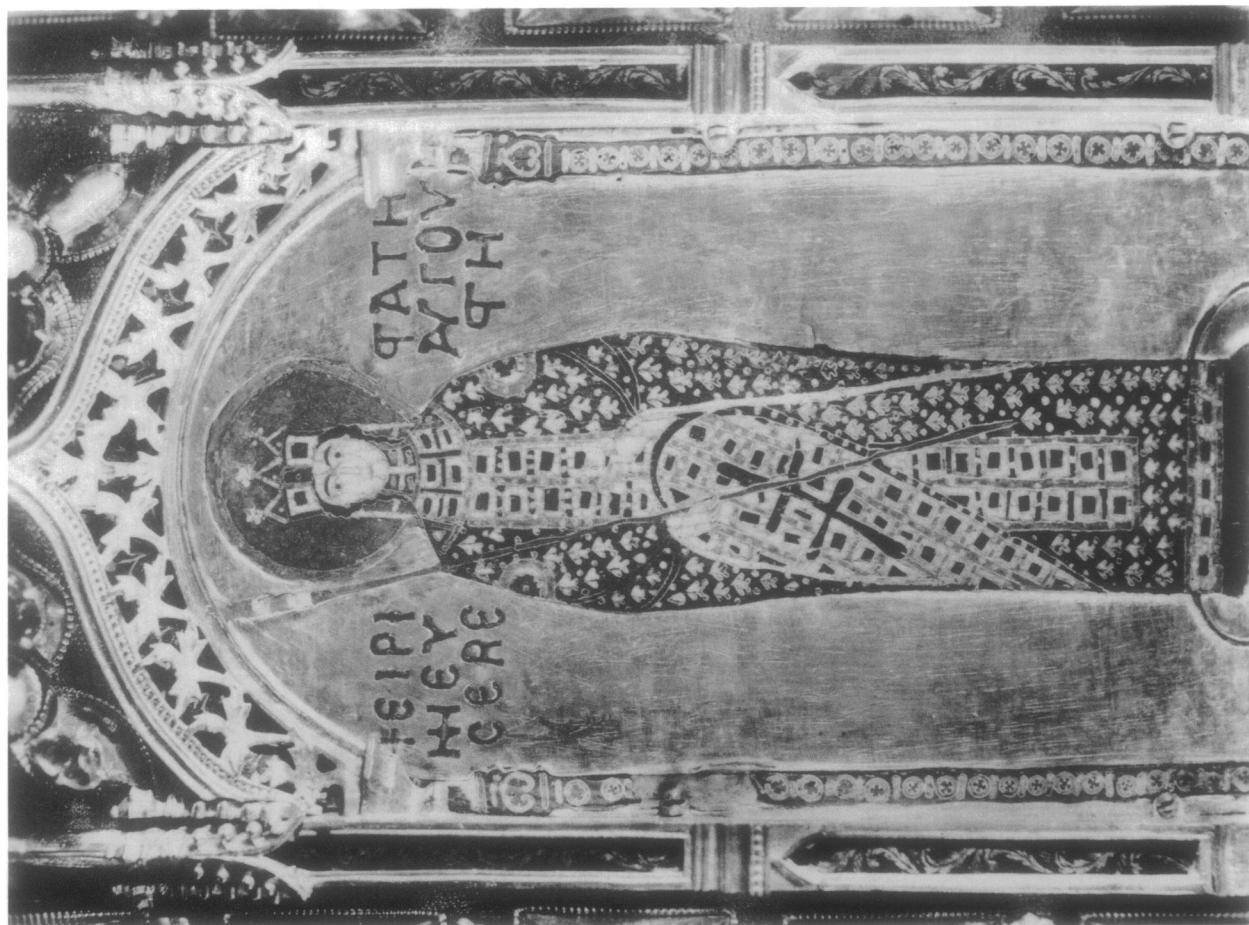


11. The Prophet Isaiah

Venice, San Marco. Pala d'Oro, details



10. Apostle



13. Venice, San Marco. Pala d'Oro, detail, Empress Irene



12. Budapest, Hungarian National Museum.  
Crown, detail, Empress Theodora



14. Venice, San Marco. Relief Icon, The Archangel Michael



15. Leningrad, The Hermitage. Architrave Icon, The Apostle Philip and SS. Theodore Stratilates and Demetrius